

1730

THE
CONDUCT
OF

Robert Walpole, Esq;

FROM

The Beginning of the REIGN of her
late Majesty Queen ANNE, to
the present Time.

When I behold the Man whose long try'd Faith,
Whose prudent Conduct, and superiour Merit,
Has rais'd his Country's Glory to the Sky,
And made her Name a Terror to the Nations;
This Man, in spite of Faction, I will Praise,
Will hold him Dear, and bind him to my Heart.

Tragedy of Sir Walter Raleigh, MS.

L O N D O N:

Printed for T. Warner, at the Black Boy in
Pater-Noster-Row. 1717.

Price One Shilling.

Where may be had, *The Conduct of the Lord TOWNSEND*,
Price One Shilling.

1720

THE CONDUCT

Robert Walpole, Esq;

47

3/13

1751

The Beginning of the Reign of her
late Majesty Queen ANNE to
the present Time

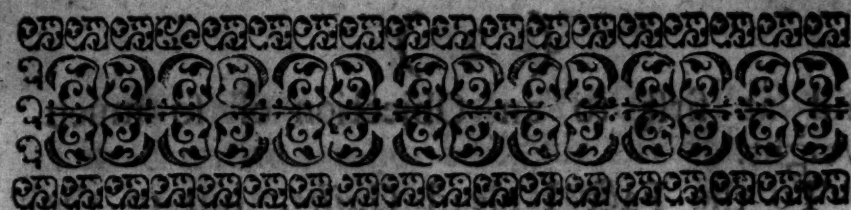


When I behold the Sun whose long night
Whole present Conduct, and present state
Has rais'd his Country's Glory to the Sky
And made her Name a Terror to the Nations
This Man, in spite of Envy, I will praise
Will hold his Part, and bind him to my Fate
Treaty of Sir William Ratcliff, 1713

L O N D O N :

Printed for T. Warton, at the Black Boy in
Peter-Nollet-Kero. 1717.
Price One Shilling.

Where may be had, The Conduct of the Lord Treasurer.
Price One Shilling.



Crime War Gentry. I am to speak of
him, and should have told him of it before
hand. I had been a Fool if I had; and had
told him of it. A Fool if I had; and had
a Knave, or worse than a Knave, which of
the two I am about to appear in the sequel.

CONDUCT

Of the Right Honourable

ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq;

WHEN the Title of this Book
shall appear to Mr. W ———
himself, perhaps he may be
surpriz'd that any Man should
go about to write his History
without his Knowledge. But
the Author has much to say upon that Sub-
ject; and tho' he saves to himself, *as the Law-
yers call it*, the Right to give a more full and
perfect Answer in Time, and Place conveni-
ent, yet something it is reasonable should be

said at first to an Objection of so much weight.

To the Fact I plead *Guilty*, but to the Crime *Not Guilty*. If I am to speak ill of him, and should have told him of it beforehand, *I had been a Fool*; if well, and had told him of it, *I had been a Flatterer*, that is a Knave, or worse than a Knave, which of the two I am about, will appear in the sequel.

I shall treat Mr. W — with plainness, and those above him with Decency, but both with Freedom, *any Thing* in their Resentment or Approbation to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

The first Thing I shall say of Mr. W — in general is, That he is a standing Testimony, that as Parties have gone in this Nation for some time, *perhaps as they go still*, it may not be proper to take any Man's Character from this, or that Party of Men, falling upon him, and turning him off; nay, tho' it should (*as in this Person is the Case*) happen, that he should in his turn be fallen upon by both Sides, and be turned out by both Sides.

In examining, or rather giving an Account of this Gentleman's Conduct, we must necessarily take Notice of some Particulars in the Treatment he has receiv'd on both Sides, (*viz.*) how the *High Church* have used him, and how the *Low Church* have used him; and in this it will also necessarily follow to observe, how he has used them too.

In

In the former part of the late Queen's Reign, I need go no farther back for his Story, Mr. *W* ——— was made Secretary of War, and sometime after that, Treasurer of the Navy; his Capacity for Business, whatever else might be said of him by one Party or by the other, was not doubted by either; and tho' Men's Merit did not always prefer them at that Time, any more than it has done since, yet his Merit *of that kind* was not question'd, and his Interest joyn'd to it fail'd not to advance him.

He had a great Interest in the House of Commons, I say, and some made it a Query, whether his Interest *in the House* procur'd him *the Places*, or the Influence of *the Places* procur'd him the Interest *in the House*. But that Question may be best determin'd Historically, (*viz.*) by which was first in order of Time; for if his Places were first, his Interest in the House could hardly be call'd the Cause of them, for the Child is seldom born before the Parent.

My Observations upon it lye another Way, (*viz.*) That his Enemies said the last, and his Friends said the first. Authors differ upon the main Point, (*viz.*) *How they agreed the Dispute*; and I am apt to think it is not determin'd yet.

But let him get it how he will, get it he did, I mean his Interest in the House, and when he had got it he kept it, *may, he cultivated*

ted and increas'd it, by that very Method which was at that Time impolitickly taken to lessen and destroy it; so often does it happen in Politicks, that the very Method which Persons of the greatest Foresight sometimes take to suppress their Enemies, are made the Means of raising and establishing them; from whence some are so weak as to suppose, that *Human Things* are not wholly guided by *Human Power*, but that there is a secret Superior *Je ne scay quoy*, which, as they say, *some how or other*, they know not the Way, turns Things about retrograde to the Resolutions of the greatest Men in the World.

If it should be so here, which however is not much to our present Purpose, one way or other, then I doubt such People will prompt our Enthusiasm to suggest, that this strange Thing which Men call Providence, had some Hand in raising this Gentleman, on purpose, as it were, to overthrow the Interest which was so firmly, in appearance, establish'd before; and to open the Way to the Interest that now reigns. How he has been requited for it, remains for another Occasion.

But to leave Providence wholly out of the Question, as a Thing which neither Side concerns themselves about *more than they should do*; I say, the Interest which Mr. W—— had formed in the House of Commons, was cultivated and improv'd by those very Measures which his *Party-Enemies* took to ruin and overthrow

throw it; for they made him Useful, by driving him to the Head of the Party who oppos'd him; and made him exceeding Popular, by sending him to the Tower to prevent his Popularity.

The Reasons and Occasion of his being committed to the Tower, will but too well appear in the short View of his Case before he went to the Tower, and which had a true effect upon his Enemies, for it brought them to wish, that a Man of Probity and Integrity equal to his, was rather secur'd to their Cause, than engaged in opposing it.

His Steadiness to the Interest that he espoused had made him feared, even by those who were above him in Power; and as Fear and Hate go much together, and perhaps are but a degree off one another in such Cases as these; those Enemies set themselves to search all possible Occasions to give him some capital Wound; and this, if possible, in a legal and legislative, or parliamentary Way. It was not long before they found a Thing to their purpose, as follows. There had been Commissioners appointed by the House of Commons in the Year 1710. for taking, examining, and stating the Publick Accompts, of whom a well known Scottish Gentleman, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwarth, was the Head. This was the same Gentleman who wrote the famous Book, entitled, *Memoirs of Scotland*, &c. a well known, and openly profess'd Jacobite. This Mr. Lockhart, by Vertue of that Commission, push'd

push'd on an Enquiry into Money which they found paid to Mr. *W* ———, or his Agents, when Secretary of War, by the Undertakers in *Scotland*, who furnished dry Forage for the Army there by Contract. The Sum was 500 Guineas down, and a Note for 500 *l.* more. This Payment was, it seems, a Consideration out of the Profits of their Contracts, allow'd to a Person not nam'd, instead of admitting him to be a Partner for one fifth Part of the Contract; but the Commissioners are pleas'd to suggest, that this Money was put into Mr. *W* ———'s Pocket, and that the Reserve of a fifth Share for an Anonymous Partner, was only a Pretence for the getting that Money, which therefore they call a Corruption. The Part of the Report which relates to this Case, is as follows, which we publish again in this Place, that all may stand together in a true Light, and Men may judge for themselves, who were right, and who wrong in the Case before us.

‘ Your Commissioners humbly lay before
 ‘ you, some Facts relating to the Forage Con-
 ‘ tracts (for the Troops in *North-Britain*) made
 ‘ by *Robert Walpole*, Esq; late Secretary of
 ‘ War, pursuant to a Power given him by
 ‘ *Sidney Earl of Godolphin*, then *Lord High*
 ‘ *Treasurer of Great Britain*.

‘ By the Rate allowed in these Contracts,
 ‘ it appearing that her *Majesty* had been put to
 ‘ an extraordinary Expence above the Pay of
 ‘ the

' the Soldiers, your Commissioners thought it
 ' their Duty to enquire whether in this Part
 ' of the Service, sufficient Care had been taken
 ' to procure the most advantageous Terms for
 ' the Publick; and being informed that *John*
 ' *Montgomery, Esq;* was concerned in these
 ' Contracts, they examined him, and he de-
 ' clared upon Oath, that Colonel *George Doug-*
 ' *lass*, and himself, were assumed Partners
 ' with Sir *Samuel Mackellan*, and Mr. *John*
 ' *Campbel*, in the Contract made by Mr. *Wal-*
 ' *pole*, to provide Forage from the middle of
 ' *May 1709*, to *May 1710*, for all the Troops
 ' in *North Britain*, at three Pence Half-penny
 ' an Horse for Green, and nine Pence for dry
 ' Forage, each Twenty four Hours.

' That the said Colonel *George Douglass*,
 ' and he the said Mr. *Montgomery*, were also
 ' assumed Partners with Mr. *John Campbel* in
 ' a subsequent Contract, commencing in *May*
 ' *1710*, and ending in *May 1711*, made like-
 ' wise by Mr. *Walpole*, and at the same Rates
 ' with the former.

' That the first of these Contracts was made
 ' by Mr. *Walpole* in *London* with Sir *Samuel*
 ' *Maklellan*, who before he went into *Scotland*,
 ' told the said *Montgomery*, that Mr. *Walpole*
 ' in making the Contract, reserv'd a Share for
 ' a Friend of his, who was to have a Benefit
 ' of the fifth Part, if not redeemed by the
 ' Contractors with a Sum of Money, and Sir
 ' *Samuel* soon after on his Death bed, at *Edin-*
 ' burgh,

‘ burgh, declared the same, whereupon Colo-
 ‘ nel Douglass, and Mr. John Campbell, direct-
 ‘ ed him, the said Montgomery, to pay Five
 ‘ Hundred Guineas to Mr. Walpole, and ac-
 ‘ cordingly he delivered into Mr. Walpole’s
 ‘ own Hands a Note for that Sum, payable
 ‘ to the said Mr. Walpole, or Order, and the
 ‘ said Montgomery afterwards paid the Sum
 ‘ of Five Hundred Guineas to one Mr. Man,
 ‘ (Mr. Walpole’s Agent) who gave him up the
 ‘ Note, with the Receipt on the back of it,
 ‘ sign’d by Mr. Walpole.

‘ That the second Contract was made by
 ‘ Mr. Walpole with Mr. John Campbell, who
 ‘ thereupon directed the said Montgomery to
 ‘ give a Note for Five Hundred Guineas, or
 ‘ Pounds (he could not remember which) to
 ‘ Mr. Walpole, which he accordingly did, and
 ‘ made it payable to Mr. Walpole, or Order,
 ‘ and delivered it into his own Hands.

‘ This second Note was left with the said
 ‘ Mr. Man, of which the said Montgomery
 ‘ hath paid about Four Hundred Pounds.

‘ Upon this Report being made by the Com-
 ‘ mittee, the Witnesses mention’d were examin’d,
 ‘ particularly Mr. Montgomery of Wray, a Scot-
 ‘ tish Gentleman, formerly Under-Secretary to
 ‘ the late Duke of Queensberry, when his Grace
 ‘ was Secretary of State.

‘ After examining Mr. Montgomery, Mr.
 ‘ W—— was heard in his Place, where he
 ‘ spoke very clearly, and it was the Opinion of
 ‘ many,

many, that he cleared himself effectually from the Charge of Corruption, there being also no Evidence to prove, that the Money was for his own Use, or ever receiv'd by him. But the House at that Time thought otherwise, and even some that were his good Friends in the main, thought he lay a little too open to his Enemies, in having reserv'd a Share in the Contractors Profits for the Use of a Person without a Name, and neither was ever produced to the Contractors, or since. But to let that pass, and every one to judge of it as they please, the House having examin'd, *as it is said*, the Witnesses, and heard Mr. W—— in his Place, came to these warm Resolutions.

Resolv'd,

That Rob. W——, Esq; a Member of this House, in receiving the Sum of 500 Guineas, and in taking a Note for 500 l. more, on Account of Two Contracts for Forage of her Majesty's Troops quarter'd in North-Britain, made by him when Secretary of War, pursuant to a Power granted to him by the late Lord Treasurer, is Guilty of a high Breach of Trust, and a notorious Corruption.

Resolv'd,

That the said Rob. W——, Esq; be for the said Offence committed Prisoner to the Tower of London, during the Pleasure of this House, and that Mr. Speaker do issue out his Warrant accordingly.

The Relater of this, in the Collections of that Time, gives us a Speech, which he says was spoken in the House after those Resolves; which Speech, it seems, was follow'd with, if it was not the Occasion of a further Resolve against Mr. *Walpole*. The Speech was printed, and publickly Sold, and is as follows.

S I R,

I See how late it is, and therefore will take up but little of your Time, in supporting the Motion that is made you, which, I think, in *Justice to our selves*, and that *Trust* the Country has reposed in us, is yet necessary to make the Proceedings of this Day complete, and give that Satisfaction to the Nation which I am satisfied is expected from us in this Affair.

Sir, we have been to Day, and are yet sitting in Judgment upon no less a Crime than *notorious Corruption in the executing Offices of Trust*, which is certainly a *Practice*, not only the most *vile* and *detestable* in it self, but the *most pernicious*, and (except *Treason*) the *most destructive* to every Constitution, or Government, where-ever it prevails. And as the Crime it self is of the *worse Sort than can be*, in any Government; so I cannot help observing to you, that in the Instance you have to Day before you, there are some *Circumstances* which make this the *worst*, even of *that Sort*, of any that are yet

' yet upon your *Journals*. In every other
 ' Instance, that I can find there, 'tis plain
 ' 'twas the *Profit* that tempted and pre-
 ' vailed upon the PARTY to commit the
 ' Crime : But this *Gentleman*, if we would
 ' believe his own, and his Evidence's Con-
 ' fession, has done it only to gratify the pro-
 ' digality of his *Humour*, and give an extra-
 ' ordinary Bounty to a Creature of his own. Or
 ' if we take it t'other way, (which I own
 ' is my Belief) that the *Profit was to himself*,
 ' 'tis still the most extraordinary Case that
 ' appears there : For in all other *Instances* of
 ' *Fraud*, what the Nation lost, the PARTY
 ' got ; but in this, for every *Hundred Pounds*
 ' of Publick Money, which he was to get for
 ' making this Contract, it has cost the Na-
 ' tion, as it stands computed upon your Re-
 ' port, very near a *Thousand* : So that I leave
 ' the *Fact*, which being of the worst sort, (ex-
 ' cept *Treason*) that can be ; and this *In-*
 ' stance, which being the worst of that Sort (ex-
 ' cept what yet lies upon your Table) that
 ' has ever yet appear'd before this H—se.

' Sir, I am sorry to observe both from this
 ' Instance, that has been prov'd before you
 ' to Day, and from others that lie upon your
 ' Table, besides what future Discoveries we
 ' may reasonably expect from the *Industry*
 ' and *Integrity*, the *Constancy* and *Courage* of
 ' those *Gentlemen* you have so happily chose
 ' to be your *Commissioners of Accompts* ; this

‘ Canker has not only taken very deep Root
 ‘ amongst some, but, I believe, we shall find
 ‘ it hath *spread it self* almost thro’ every Part
 ‘ of the *late Administration* : Therefore, Sir,
 ‘ I hope our Judgment, in this Case, will be
 ‘ such, as all good Judgment ought to be,
 ‘ where, in the Punishing of the Offender,
 ‘ whether it be more or less, is not so much
 ‘ to be regarded, as that it may be such as
 ‘ may sufficiently deter others from daring
 ‘ to commit the *like Practices* hereafter.

‘ Sir, You have already sent the Person
 ‘ that you have found Guilty of this *foul*
 ‘ *Crime* to the *Tower* ; and some Gentlemen
 ‘ say, (tho’ I can hardly believe them) they
 ‘ think it Punishment sufficient. I am so far
 ‘ from thinking that a Punishment adequate
 ‘ to the Crime, that I am afraid, that all that
 ‘ is in the Power of this House to do, will not
 ‘ be sufficient to root out this inveterate and
 ‘ radicated Mischief from amongst us ; and,
 ‘ as I said before, ’tis the *Remedying of the*
 ‘ *Evil*, not the *Punishment of the Man*, which
 ‘ we ought chiefly to regard.

‘ For, Sir, ’tis very plain, from the many
 ‘ Instances which you have upon your Jour-
 ‘ nals, that abundantly less Crimes of *this*
 ‘ *Sort*, than *this is*, have been punish’d both
 ‘ by Imprisonment, and what you are now
 ‘ moved for, *Expulsion* ; and yet the *united*
 ‘ *Force* of these Punishments, (which I think
 ‘ is the most this House can do) have been

‘ so

‘ so far from being able to remedy the Evil,
 ‘ that it has increas’d upon us.

‘ As to what you have already done, I
 ‘ own, Sir, I think Confinement of any sort
 ‘ very Grievous to a *generous* Mind ; but,
 ‘ Sir, there are *confident* Tempers in the
 ‘ World, that instead of standing Corrected,
 ‘ can Glory in their Punishments, be they of
 ‘ what sort they will. We all know an In-
 ‘ stance, where an Hymn has been made even
 ‘ to the *Pillory* it self, by the Wretch that was
 ‘ just come out of it : I hope your Member
 ‘ is not so low as that Fellow. But, give me
 ‘ leave to say, I expect to see such a Parade
 ‘ made, and such a Countenance shew’d him
 ‘ in his Prison, *by some sort* of Persons, who
 ‘ would be glad, for *their own Sakes*, to Screen
 ‘ the *foulness of the Crime*, as well as the Per-
 ‘ sons Convicted of it, that I’m afraid that
 ‘ part of your Judgment will not sit so hea-
 ‘ vy upon him as it *ought to do*. Your worthy
 ‘ Member, Sir P—— K——, says, he as much
 ‘ deserves to be Hang’d, as these two Punish-
 ‘ ments : I do not much differ from that wor-
 ‘ thy Gentleman ; for I think a Man that is
 ‘ in Posts of near *Five Thousand Pounds a Year*,
 ‘ and cannot be content with that, *but must*
 ‘ *commit such Practices as these are*, deserves
 ‘ *little less*. But I am sensible how late it is,
 ‘ therefore —

After this, a Motion being made in the
 House by Mr. *Wale*’s Friends to Adjourn,
 the

the Question was put, but pass'd in the Negative ; and the Debate continuing, the House came to another unhappy Resolve upon Mr. *Wa--le*, viz.

Resolved, That the said Mr. Robert *Wa--le* be (for the said Offence) also expell'd the House.

This Question was carried against him by a Majority of 30 Voices ; and the next Morning, says the same Relater, Mr. *Wa--le* surrender'd himself Prisoner to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

Soon after this, upon a Complaint of the same *Commissioners of Accompts*, Mr. Robert *Man*, Mr. *Wa--le*'s Agent was taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, for refusing to be farther Examn'd before the said *Commissioners*, or to deliver up the Note of 500 *l.* which was given him by Mr. *Montgomery*, and remain'd unpaid.

It was expected that Mr. *Wa--le*, after he had been some time Committed, would have Petition'd, and submitted himself to the Censure of the House ; but this was by them who did not know Mr. *Wa--le*, or were not Judges of the Nature of the Charge ; and they were extremely mistaken in their Man. On the contrary, he receiv'd the Visits and Compliments of the Greatest Men in the Nation there, which gave much Offence to his great Enemies, and made some appear very Chagrin, that they had not Power to Eclipse sufficiently a Man whose Overthrow was, at that Time, so necessary to them.

Mr.

Mr. *Walpole* being thus Expell'd the House, lay still from the 18th of Jan. to the 6th of March; in the mean time, a new Writ being issued out for Electing a Burgess for the Town of *Lynn*, in the County of *Norfolk*, he was re-chosen for that Place by a great Majority: But the People who had Voted him once out of the House, and into the Tower, were not so unconcern'd in his Confinement, as to let him slip out of their Hands so cheap; on the contrary, one *Sam. Taylor*, Esq; Petitioning against the Return, the Question came before the House, Whether Mr. *Walpole* was capable of being Elected, or not? And upon the Debate, the House came to the following Resolution.

Resolved,

That Robert Walpole, Esq; having been this Sessions of Parliament, committed a Prisoner to the Tower of London, and Expell'd this House, for a high Breach of Trust in the Execution of his Office, and notorious Corruption when Secretary of War, WAS, and IS, incapable of being Elected Member to serve in this present Parliament.

His Fate was now determin'd for this Session, viz. to lie in the Tower till the House was up. During this Time, he had Leisure enough to Compile that clear and effectual Defence of himself, which came afterwards out in the third Person, and is call'd, *The*

CASE

CASE of Mr. Walpole, in a Letter from a Tory Member of Parliament, to his Friend in the Country : In which he first lays down the Fact he is charg'd with, fully and impartially, viz. *A high Breach of Trust, and notorious Corruption* ; ' Crimes, says he, of a very Heinous Nature ; and either of them sufficient to subject any Member to the just Resentment and Censure of the Parliament. But, he adds, that at the same time he can never be of the Opinion, that any Man ought to suffer for being barely Charg'd with a Crime, unless it be prov'd upon him, either by positive Evidence, or clear Presumption ; much less, says he, ought any Man to be Censur'd, or Punish'd, when there is no Evidence to Convict, and Circumstances concur in his Justification ; and still more especially, where there is positive Evidence upon Oath to acquit him. All which he alledges is in Mr. Walpole's Case.

He then goes on to observe, ' That as to the first Article, viz. *The Breach of Trust* : After Mr. Walpole had been heard in his Place, no Body insisted upon it : All those who had spoken before either were Silent, or admitted that he had Clear'd himself effectually of that Part. But, says he, this being made part of the *Pocket-Question*, which was agreed on the Night before, not a Word was to be alter'd, let the Evidence be what it wou'd. He notes, as a

' Proof

‘ Proof of this, how it was mov’d by a Gentleman, who was not able to repeat the written Terms of the Question, till he had recourse to his Papers; and thereby discover’d evidently, that the Sentence had been fix’d and agreed upon *without Doors*. He merrily remarks also, that

This Motion was seconded by another Member, whose Talent, in repeating like a School-Boy his Lesson, had betray’d him to speak a fine Speech upon the Subject of Bribery and Corruption in general: Which, *says he*, being made before the Cause was heard, had the Misfortune not to have one Word in it to the Purpose, or applicable to the Fact, which had been given in Evidence, and would serve just as well upon any other Occasion.

Note, That this it is supposed is meant of the Speech mention’d before; who the Member was that made it, is not, perhaps, so proper for the present Time to make publick.

He then proceeds to tell us, That Mr. *Walpole* had no View of any Advantage to himself, in the Contracts which were then in Question; and that to prove this, he proved in his Defence of himself,

1. That it was not in his Power; as not being the only Person employ’d, or intrusted by the Government to make the Contract. And,

2. That

2. That the Contracts were made upon the lowest and most advantageous Terms that could possibly be had for the Government : viz.

Upon the march of the *English* Dragoons into *Scotland*, which, by the Laws of *Scotland*, could not be Quarter'd in that Part of the Kingdom, according to the Method prescribed by the Laws of *England*, the Duke of *Queensberry*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Loudon*, and *Seafield*, and other *Scotch* Lords, that were of the Queen's most Honourable Privy Council, were order'd to meet, and consider of the most proper Methods of providing Forage for the Troops in *North-Britain*; who summon'd to their Assistance all the *Scotch* Officers of Dragoons that were then in *London*, and gave their Opinions to Her Majesty, That the most proper and practicable Method of providing Forage, was to make Contracts with Commissaries of Forage, as had been usually practis'd in *Scotland*; and recommended Sir *Samuel Maclellan*, Lord Provost of *Edinburgh*, who had frequently been employ'd in this Service before the Union, as a proper Person to be treated with.

The Proposals of Sir *Samuel Maclellan* were refer'd to Lieutenant General *Erle*, Pay-master General of Her Majesty's Forces, and Mr. *Walpole*; who, at several Meetings, did likewise consult all the *Scotch* Officers; and the Prices of Nine-Pence, and Three-Pence Half-Penny,

Penny, for Dry and Green Forage, for each Twenty-Four Hours, were judg'd Reasonable, from the best Information that could be had, and agreed to accordingly by Mr. Erle, Mr. Howe, and Mr. Walpole, who were jointly and equally concern'd with Mr. Walpole, in settling and agreeing the Prices, altho' the Contract was afterwards prepared and executed by him, *virtute Officii*, as Secretary at War : And this Mr. Erle did declare in the House of Commons, at the Time when the Matter was under Consideration.

As the making the Contract, and agreeing the Prices and Conditions, was not left solely to Mr. Walpole, so he prov'd, beyond Contradiction, that the Bargain was, in all respects, made upon as advantageous Terms for the Publick, as possibly could be had : And this was made appear, by comparing the Contract with all former Contracts made before the Union ; with the Prices that the *English* Dragoons had been oblig'd to pay, from the Time they march'd into *Scotland*, to the making of the Contract ; and with the Prices that the *Scotch* Dragoons had paid that very Year, before a Provision was made for them by the Contract.

The Second Charge, says he, is *Notorious Corruption*. The Fact charg'd, is,

Mr. Walpole's receiving the Sum of 500 Guineas, and taking a Note for 500 l. more, on account of two Contracts for Forage, made

' by him, &c. The Evidence to support this,
 ' is, that part of Mr. *Montgomery's* Deposi-
 ' tion, that says, This Deponent gave Mr.
 ' *Walpole* a Bill, or Note, payable to himself,
 ' or Order, and deliver'd it into his Hands ;
 ' and that he paid the said Sum to Mr. *Man*,
 ' who deliver'd the Note to this Deponent,
 ' with Mr. *Walpole's* Receipt upon the back
 ' of it. The like for the Second Year. The
 ' Questions will then be ; Upon what Ac-
 ' count these Notes were given to Mr. *Wal-*
 ' *pole* ? and whether the Money was received
 ' by him, for him, or for his Use ? Even Mr.
 ' *Montgomery*, the Informer, swears, That Sir
 ' *Samuel Maclellan*, who made the first Con-
 ' tract with Mr. *Walpole*, told him when he
 ' was at *London*, and soon after upon his
 ' Death-Bed at *Edinburgh*, did declare the
 ' same, That a Friend of Mr. *Walpole's* was
 ' to be Sharer in the Contract. Colonel
 ' *Douglas*, who was equally concern'd, de-
 ' clares, That Sir *Samuel* told him, that, a-
 ' mong others, he had admitted a Gentleman
 ' in *London*, recommended to him by Mr.
 ' *Walpole*, for a Share, and that he always
 ' understood, that Sharer was to bear equal
 ' Risk with the rest, in case any Loss should
 ' be. And Mr. *Man* swears, That by an
 ' Agreement betwixt him and Sir *Samuel*
 ' *Maclellan*, he was to be a Sharer in this
 ' Undertaking, at equal Profit, or Loss, as
 ' should happen or arise in performing the
 ' Contract ;

Contract; together with such other Partners, as should be taken into the Contract by Sir Samuel Maclellan, upon his arrival in Scotland. So that all the Evidence agrees, a Third Person, a Friend of Mr. Walpole's, or recommended by him, was to be concern'd; and Mr. Man swears positively himself to be *this Third Person*.

The next Step is, Mr. Montgomery swears, That John Campbell, and Colonel Douglas, directed him to pay 500 Guineas to Mr. Walpole. What says Colonel Douglas to this? That Sir Samuel Maclellan being dead, and he not knowing the Person, nor at that Time remembring his Name, judg'd it most proper to have the Money made payable to Mr. Walpole, or Order, for the use of his Friend: And that upon hearing the Name of Mr. Man, he recollects that to be the Name of the Gentleman that Sir Samuel Maclellan nam'd, as the Person recommended to be a Sharer in the Contract. This, surely, explains why the Notes were made payable to Mr. Walpole, and deliver'd to him; and is a farther Proof that Mr. Man was, from the beginning, the Person concern'd in the Contract, and for whom the Share was reserv'd by Sir Samuel Maclellan.

Mr. Montgomery likewise swears, That he paid the said Sum to Mr. Man, who deliver'd him the Note, with Mr. Walpole's Receipt

' Receipt on the back of it. This Mr. *Man*
 ' admits to be true ; and at the same Time,
 ' upon his Oath declares, That he receiv'd
 ' the Money, due by the said Note from Mr.
 ' *Montgomery*, at several Times, for which he
 ' gave his own Receipts, and in his own
 ' Name, at the several Times of Payment ;
 ' which Receipts, at the payment of the last
 ' Sum, were Cancell'd, and a Discharge, or
 ' Receipt in full, was written upon the Back
 ' of Mr. *Montgomery's* Note, over Mr. *Wal-*
 ' *pole's* Name, that was before only a blank En-
 ' dorsement ; which was done upon closing the
 ' Accompt betwixt Mr. *Montgomery*, and the
 ' Deponent, as is usual upon the like Occasions.
 ' And here it is to be observed, that this Note
 ' remain'd all this Time in Mr. *Man's* Hands,
 ' until it was taken up and Cancell'd, toge-
 ' ther with the several Receipts, at the payment
 ' of the last Sum. And, in the Affidavit, Mr. *Man*
 ' further Deposes, That the several Sums of
 ' Money receiv'd by him from the said Mr.
 ' *Montgomery*, upon the two Notes of 500
 ' Guineas, and 500 l. were receiv'd by him
 ' for his own sole Use and Benefit ; and that
 ' he has not paid the said Sums, nor any
 ' part thereof, nor Accounted for them, nor
 ' is under any Obligation, or Agreement, to
 ' Pay, or Accompt for the same, or any Part
 ' of them, to any Person whatsoever ; but
 ' that the same does, and is to remain to his
 ' own sole Benefit and Advantage.

Receipt

' Is

‘ Is it possible then, that any thing can be
 ‘ more Clear and Express, than the Answers
 ‘ that are given to every Part of the Charge
 ‘ against Mr. *Walpole* ? Or, cou’d any bet-
 ‘ ter Evidence be expected in this Case, than
 ‘ to prove, by Evidence upon Oath, that Mr.
 ‘ *Walpole* was no ways concern’d, but in re-
 ‘ commending Mr. *Man* to be a Sharer in the
 ‘ Contract ; that the Death of Sir *Samuel*
 ‘ *Maclellan*, who alone had Negotiated this
 ‘ Affair, occasion’d Mr. *Walpole*’s Name to
 ‘ be made use of ; that Mr. *Walpole* Endors’d
 ‘ the Note in Form only, as an Assignment
 ‘ to Mr. *Man*, for whose Use and Benefit the
 ‘ Note was given ; and that Mr. *Walpole* had
 ‘ not the least Interest, or Advantage, direct-
 ‘ ly or indirectly, in this whole Affair ?

‘ But a Contract having since been made
 ‘ at lower Rates, an Inference was drawn
 ‘ from thence, of the Unreasonableness of
 ‘ this Contract : But if this Contract was
 ‘ Justifiable, compared with all former Con-
 ‘ tracts ; and the Circumstances and Prices
 ‘ that govern’d at that Time, ’tis very un-
 ‘ just to make any Imputation from the
 ‘ Plenty or Scarcity, Dearness or Cheapness
 ‘ of Forage, that might afterwards happen.
 ‘ Besides, the *new Contract* that was made upon
 ‘ lower Terms, proved Destructive of the Ser-
 ‘ vice, as appear’d by a Memorial sign’d by
 ‘ the Colonels, and commanding Officers,
 ‘ which was presented at the War-Office,
 ‘ setting

' setting forth, That upon account of the
 ' Forage which was Contracted for at such
 ' low Rates, the Country cannot afford to
 ' bring it to Quarters, nor to give Good in
 ' its Kind; and that the Contractor has not
 ' any Magazines, as he ought to have, for the
 ' necessary Supply of the Troops; for want
 ' whereof, the Troops are so dispers'd, and
 ' separated at such Distances, that they are
 ' render'd utterly incapable of any Service;
 ' and the Officers can no ways be An-
 ' swerable for their good Order and Disci-
 ' pline.

' By what has been said, it appears, That
 ' all possible Care and Precaution was us'd to
 ' obtain the most advantagious Terms that
 ' could be had for the Government; and
 ' that the Forage could not be supply'd
 ' at lower Rates, consistent with the Service,
 ' which leaves no room to suspect that the
 ' Contract was made with any View, or Pro-
 ' spects of a private Advantage to Mr. Wal-
 ' pole, or any other Person; and sufficiently
 ' clears Mr. Walpole from the first Part of the
 ' Charge, wherein he is said to be Guilty of
 ' a High Breach of Trust.

Thus Mr. W——— clear'd himself effectually,
 and impartial People understood the
 Case to be as it really was (*viz.*) *The Resolution of a Party to suppress a Person of another Party, who they found it for their Service at that Time to get out of their way.*

The

The Objections which were brought to this part, are also fully answer'd in that excellent Tract above mention'd, tho' the Particulars are too long to repeat.

But the Hardship, and unprecedented Treatment which Mr. *Walpole* receiv'd, in his being declared incapable to Sit after he was Re-elected, which, as was well observ'd, was being expell'd Twice for the same Fact; this cannot be pass'd over: Nor can it be ungrateful to all those who have friendly Wishes to this Honourable Person, to remind the World what he suffer'd in those Times, that it may heighten the Surprize which must happen to all Men of Understanding, if it should be his Lot to suffer any Thing hard, or unjust, under the Influence of a quite contrary Administration. The Merits of this particular Case of Mr. *Walpole* therefore may be enquired of a little in the same Account of his Case mention'd above.

It is to be observed in the first Place, that the Inhabitants, and Electors of the populous Burrough which he represented, had so just an Account of the Proceedings against him, and were so thoroughly satisfied of his Conduct, and of the Party Reasons which were the Cause of his Expulsion, that it appear'd in vain for any one to attempt to set up against him; and tho' an Attempt was made, supported, as was said, *in the said Case*, at the publick Expence; yet the Person who was set up

E

against

against him, soon gave it up as a Thing not practicable; but it seems being elected, and return'd, according to the usual Form, and in a manner which could not be objected against, could not yet secure Mr. W—— his Seat in the House. It was resolved, whatever Measures were taken, not to suffer him to slip so out of their Hands, and therefore they resolv'd on another Method, and as is mention'd before, voted him incapable to sit in the House. This was a Proceeding, says one, at that Time, not unjustifiable only, but unprecedented, because the Sentence was adjusted to the Offence before, and without any such Clause of Incapacity, whereupon another Part of the Case aforesaid argues thus.

The Incapacity, *says he*, must arise either from the Tenour of the Writ, from his having been a Prisoner in the Tower, or from his having been expell'd the House. The Words, or Tenour of the Writ, are *alium Burghensem elegi facere*, &c. to choose another Burghess. But this does not limit them to choose another Man, as is proved by innumerable Precedents, where the same Person is accounted another Burghess, *being chosen on another Election*, as much as any differing Person could be.

Nor does being a Prisoner render a Man *incapable*. This he argues very happily, and proves it past all Contradiction; but the Argument is too long for the Compass of this Work.

The

The single Question then, *as he said*, remain'd, Whether being expell'd the House, necessarily carried with it, an Incapacity of being again elected, or of sitting? &c. To this he opposes a Fundamental, not to be opugn'd (*viz.*) that all Incapacity arises either from some known Statute, or Law, or from the Usage or Custom of Parliament, which last is the Law of Parliament. It was not pretended, *says he*, that there was any express Law to Incapacitate him, it must therefore be considered how far the Pretence could be supported by *Precedents*; on the search of *Precedents*, he insists, that no Precedent can be given where an Expulsion had been esteem'd an Incapacity, except where it has been so express'd in the Sentence, which it was not here.

No Man, *says he*, can deny, but that to be made incapable of being elected, is a farther, and an additional Punishment to an Expulsion, and *he asks*, how then can it be thought just, when the House had proceeded to Censure, and Punish, as far as they thought the Nature of the Crime requir'd, that they should add to the Punishment, after the Sentence, the Severity of declaring an Incapacity which was not included, and which was in effect to *Expel him again*, and so inflict another Punishment for the same Crime.

To illustrate this Case, and finish the Argument, he brings several famous *Precedents* out of the Journals of the House of Com-

mons, to prove what he asserts, and which served very much to make those Proceedings appear extraordinary.

Under all these Hardships, and unjust Prosecutions, Mr. W—— remain'd quietly in the *Tower*, during that whole Session of Parliament, which continued till the 8th of *July* following, when, a Prorogation ensuing, he came out of Course.

From this Time Mr. *Walpole* began to act, not only in his own Defence, but in open Opposition of the Measures of the Ministry then in being; and seeing far into the Politicks of the Court, he set himself avowedly to expose and defeat them. The first Services we find him embark'd in, *was* the opposing the Peace in general, the Fund of the South Sea Company in particular, and the Treaty of Commerce in especial manner; in all which he evidenced, not only his Steadiness to the Interest he had espoused, but his consummate Knowledge and Experience in Affairs which were of the nicest Nature relating to the Common Interest of his Country, and which he explained so well, examin'd so far, and so effectually pursued, that there was nothing done by the Ministry of that Time, with how high a Hand soever carried, but what he let them see he was Master of as well as they, and very often before them; and taught them by Experience, that he knew as well how to defeat and expose it, as they did how to contrive and put it in Execution.

It

It was observable, that about that Time, in order to set up a popular Scheme for paying those which *they then call'd* the heavy Debts of the Nation, meaning the Debts which were unprovided for by Parliament, many Reproaches were cast upon the Administration of the former Ministry, for suffering such an immense Debt to run on without Parliamentary Provision, and by Consequence applauding the Wisdom of the then *new Ministry*; their Care for the People, their Capacity of contriving such Things, and procuring such Means as might ascertain, and secure such a Debt; I say, when these Things were carried to an unreasonable Feud in the whole Extent of the Kingdom, Mr. W—— publish'd in one Sheet of Paper, so accurate a Scheme of the publick Debts, especially that of the Navy, with another Paper stating the Management of the Revenues, the Anticipations, the Debt, and the Reasons and Necessity of them, as set the Nation in a manner wholly to rights in that Affair, and not only took off much from the great boasted Merit of the Projectors of those Days, but entirely undeceiv'd the Publick as to the Reproaches which were so industriously rais'd upon the former Ministry for *Male-Administration*.

By these Schemes he made every private Man who would apply himself to the Knowledge of those Things, able to answer all the Objections, and laugh at all the high Blusters,
and

and Boasts of the Emisaries of the new Party, concerning redeeming the Nation from a vast Burthen which they were not able to bear, and ascertaining a Debt, which before was precarious and doubtful, and which was so depreciated at that Time for want of a sufficient Fund, that it went then among the Stock-jobbing World at 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. Discompt: He explain'd the Meaning, and the Reason of that Debt, and let the World know, that tho' the Arts of Stock-jobbers, and the too forward Apprehensions of Men that wanted their Money, had run down the Credit of those Funds, yet that the Parliament, which is the Centre of all publick Credit in the Nation, having often, and upon all Occasions, made good the publick Engagements and Deficiencies of every kind, there was not the least Reason for such Apprehensions of their Money, and by Consequence no Reason for such extravagant Discompts upon those Debts. *In a Word*, he opposed the Torrent of the Times with the utmost Skill and Dexterity; and tho' his single Opposition was not able to stem such a boisterous Tide, which run on in a Course of Party Management, till Providence put a full stop to it another Way; yet it was eminently known, and his Enemies confess'd, that he gave them more uneasiness, and oblig'd them to more Caution in all their publick Measures, than all the rest of the People that opposed them.

By

By this Management he made himself justly valued and esteemed by all those Gentlemen, whose Zeal, tho' not their Capacities, equally press'd them to oppose the Current of those Times; and on the contrary, made himself formidable to the Administration; and the Viscount *Bolingbroke* did not stick to acknowledge, that it was Mr. *W*—— and his Party that he spoke of, when he said openly in the House, that *The Ministry were oppress'd by a Faction, and were not able to carry on the Business of the War, and must therefore make Peace as well as they could.*

It was by Mr. *W*——'s vigorous Opposition, and his indefatigable Industry in searching into the *Arcana* of all the Court Intrigues; that the Secret of the Management of those Times was detected and exposed; it was by his following them close in the pursuit of every Project, that they were often driven to Extremities, and were indeed at last push'd upon such desperate Courses as could not fail to end in the Ruin of their Designs, and Persons too at last; as We have since found by Experience it has, and as such Measures generally do.

It was by his resolute Conduct that the Whigs in general made such a bold Stand against the Proceedings of the Court, that not the Possession of the whole Power of the Nation, not the Concurrence of the Clergy, and a Superiour Body of the Gentry all over the King-

Kingdom, no, not the Majority both of Lords and Commons, could support them in; but that as soon as the Queen's Breath was out of her Body, the whole Machine of Tory Politics fell in Pieces, and broke all into the utmost Confusion, so that of the whole Building, there was not left, *as we may say*, one Stone upon another.

We have another Piece extant written in those Times, call'd, *A Short History of the Parliament*. This was said to be done by the same Hand; to be sure it was written with the same Vivacity and Spirit. The Ironical Dedication was inscribed thus, *To THE RIGHT HONOURABLE the LORD* ———, but was visibly pointed at a certain PEER now a Prisoner. The last two Paragraphs are a Specimen of the Spirit and Wit of the whole, and prove plainly who it was to be understood to mean. *They are as follows.*

‘ To your Lordship’s Dexterity and Munificence we owe what was done in the *one House*, and to your Eloquence, Perspicuity, and *Twelve Peers*, whatever was done in the other.

‘ Thus, my Lord, the Merit of all that has been transacted may be justly attributed to your Lordship. There are some, very few I hope, who may deny your Lordship these Attributes; and fewer yet, who will be unwilling they should meet with their just Reward.

It

It may be easie to guess at the Subject of this Book, when after a brief Introduction relating to the Changes then made, and how the Ministry brought the Parliament in to concur in all their Measures, he has these Words, *I will now give you a short View, what a share the Parliament has had in this wonderful Undertaking, and how far they have contributed to the Ruin of their Country.*

I need say no more than this, that as no Man was better qualified to give a perfect History of the Transactions of that Parliament, it was done so to the Life, that none ever ventur'd to set Pen to Paper for their Vindication, or offer'd to detect the least Misrepresentation or Falshood in the whole Account; and as for the Satire of it, there needed no keener Satire, than the true Narration of Facts, which yet do not want the usual keen Turns of Wit in Application, which the Author is known to be Master of.

Let none wonder, that upon the Accession of King *GEORGE*, Mr. *Walpole* had that just Regard paid to his Merit, and had all the Respect offer'd him, which so steady and extraordinary a Conduct, in such dangerous and depraved Times, required.

The first Time we meet with Mr. *W——*'s Name in publick, after the Death of the Queen, was the Afternoon of the same Day, at the great Assembly of the Nobility and Gentry at *St. James's*, for proclaiming King
F GEORGE,

GEORGE, where we have his Name to the Proclamation of the King, *August 1, 1714.*

After the first Transports of the Accession were a little over, and the King was arrived, we find, that as Mr. *Walpole* was the most vigorous Opposer of the old Managers, while they were in Power, and was not afraid to threaten them with receiving the Reward of their Measures, which he declared then to be aim'd at, and to be destructive of the Peace, and Safety of the Protestant Religion, and the Succession of King GEORGE. I say, as he was the forwardest to promise them the Reward of their Measures, so he was the first now to push on their receiving it; and having brought the Complaint of these Things before the Parliament, he, even at their first Meeting, made a most moving, and effectual Speech in the House of Commons, upon the Subject of the Mismanagements of the Four preceding Years: This was upon the Motion of an Address of Thanks to the King on his Majesty's Speech at the opening his first Parliament, the 21st of *March, 1715.*

Upon the reading the Address in the House, it is said, several warm Debates arose about the Expressions in the Address which condemn'd the late Peace, and censur'd the Ministry, which it was alledged was a Reflection on the late Queen, whose Act the Peace was, and which it was alledged could not be agreeable to his Majesty. This, says the Relator
of

of the other, *was answer'd by Mr. Walpole in Words to this Effect, (viz.)* ' That nothing
 ' was further from their Intentions, than to
 ' asperse the late Queen, but that they rather
 ' design'd to vindicate her Memory, by ex-
 ' posing and punishing those evil Counsellors
 ' who deluded her into pernicious Measures,
 ' whereas the opposite Party endeavour'd to
 ' skreen, and justify those Counsellors, by
 ' throwing on the Memory of her Majesty, all
 ' the Odium of their evil Councils.

Upon this Debate the Address was pass'd; and this was that famous Address, which it was said Mr. W—— himself drew up, and in which he put in those Words which occasion'd that Debate (*viz.*) *Bringing the Authors, &c. to condign Punishment.*

In pursuance of this Address, and of the constant Resolution he had taken, to pursue the Authors of the late Mismanagements with the utmost Rigor of Justice, *he ceas'd not*, in the House, as well as out of it, to bring Things to such a Head, that the Inquiry into the Measures of the late Reign, might be put in the ordinary Method. I need not enter into the several Steps taken in the House towards it, such as addressing to have all the Papers laid before them, and the like; *It is enough to bring it to this one Conclusion, (viz.) That these Endeavours ended in the Resolution of the House to appoint a SECRET COMMITTEE, to whom all the Enquiries into those*

Affairs were to be referr'd; of which *Secret Committee*, it is well known that Mr. *Walpole* was Chairman; and what the Office of Chairman to such a Committee is, cannot but be known also; He had now upon his Hands some of the greatest Weights of Business in the Nation, (*viz.*) This of examining into the Mismanagements of the last Reign, and managing the Payment of the Forces; being made Receiver, and Pay-Master General of the Army, and of *Chelsea* College Hospital.

His great Skill in Business of this kind, qualified him for a Post of so nice a Nature, even above other Men; but this was but an Earnest of greater Honours which Fate had determin'd for him in the State, the chief Management of the Royal *Treasury*, which soon came into his Hands, by the Demise of the Earl of *Halifax*; of which in its course.

I return to the *Secret Committee*. Mr. *W*—, who was at the Head of that Enquiry, unwearyed in Application, and successful, even beyond his own Expectation, in the Discoveries daily made in the Grand Affair, carry'd it on with the utmost Diligence, tho' notwithstanding all their Industry, such was the *Herculean* Labour, that it was not till the 9th of *June* that this Committee, tho' One and Twenty in number, could dispatch all the Business that lay before them, the weight of which principally

pally lay on Mr. *Walpole*, as he was Chairman ; but he who never thought the Labour hard, or the Trouble great, which he took upon him to gratifie his Zeal for that Cause, and to serve the Interest of King *GEORGE*, appear'd indefatigable in the Work, and spar'd no Pains to find out the bottom of Intrigues, as may appear by the length and exactness of their Report, which contain'd no less than 24 Sheets of Paper, when printed, in Folio, and in a small print too.

As he had been vigilant in the Discoveries made, so his Labour in that Part brought on him farther, and additional Occasions of being employ'd (*viz.*) in the Impeachment of the Criminals : As the Crimes were detected by Mr. *W*——, so the Charge to be founded on those Discoveries, came of Course to be drawn up by him, as he was at the Head of the same Committee.

Nor was his Application less in the House, where, when the Introduction to all these Matters was in Debate, great Opposition was made, but Mr. *W*—— never gave it over till he had carry'd all the Points which were aim'd at by the Committee, and till the Persons who they had found Reason to charge with such heinous Facts, were openly impeach'd by the House of Commons ; the Story of which is so well known, as not to need any Repetition.

In all these Cases he serv'd King GEORGE's Interest with the same unwear'd Zeal, as he had before serv'd his Succession, and we had every Day an Account of the warm Speeches he made, and the new Discoveries he produced, in Consequence of the Trust reposed in him by the House of Commons. The Accounts which were then publish'd of these Things, are full of the Repetitions of Speeches made, *as they positively say*, by Mr. W——, and of smart Answers to the Motions of the contrary Party, particularly on the 10th of June, 1716. when the House resum'd the Consideration of the Report from the *Committee of Secrecy*, when, upon a Member on the other Side moving to adjourn the Consideration of it for eight or ten Days, Mr. W——, is said to have return'd, ' That he could not but wonder, that those Gentlemen who had shewn so great Impatience to have the Report brought in, shou'd now press for adjourning the Consideration of it: That as for the *Committee of Secrecy*, as they had not yet gone thro' all the Branches of their Enquiry, they could have wish'd longer Time had been allowed them to peruse, and digest several important Papers; that in order to that they would have deferr'd three Weeks, or a Month, the laying their Report before the House; but the same Gentlemen having reflected on the pretended slowness of the Committee, had hastned it in;

‘ in ; and seeing the Report was now before
 ‘ them, they must even go through with it.

This shew’d he was not at a loss to carry
 on what he had begun, and having carried his
 Point upon the Question, 280 to 160, he im-
 mediately began the Work, and impeach’d
 the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, telling them
 that he did not doubt, but when the House
 had read over their Report a second Time, they
would be convinc’d that he was Guilty : Thus
 Mr. W—— led the Way to all the Impeach-
 ments which follow’d. I need not enlarge
 here, upon the Part which Mr. W—— had
 in all the other Proceedings of that Committee;
 to undertake it, must be to write a History of
 the *Secret Committee*, and would engage me in
 so many Quotations from the Histories of Fact,
 as would swell this Account beyond what is
 necessary. It is enough to observe, that as
 he was Chairman, and that so the principal
 Management of that Affair lay upon him, so
 he executed that part with such a Zeal for the
 Service of the King, and of the present Admi-
 nistration under his Majesty, that it must be ve-
 ry surprizing to any one that reads his Story,
 to find that any part of his Merit, on that Ac-
 count, should be forgotten, or so much as
 lessen’d in the Esteem of those, who at that
 Time were so effectually serv’d by it, and so
 sensible of the Advantage of that Service.

While he was carrying on these Affairs with
 an unwearied Application, as above, he had

an unusual Forgery put upon him in print, which amused the World for a while, tho' he clear'd himself of it in a little Time. The Author we never could yet hear of; *the Case was this*; there had been a Letter publish'd in print, sign'd R. W. and said to be written to the Earl of *Sunderland*, then at the *Bath*. This R. W. was supposed, and publicly said to be Mr. Robert W———. It seems this Letter had been cryed about the Streets, and by private Industry had been dispers'd over the whole Kingdom; at length an Opportunity was offered to fix it upon some body, which it seems before they found difficult to do; and this was by its being printed in the *Evening Post*.

Complaint was then made of it to the House, who upon reading the Letter, shew'd immediately their Respect to Mr. W———, as also their regard to Justice, by censuring the said Letter, and thought themselves oblig'd to vindicate Mr. W———'s Reputation, by voting it a *false, scandalous, and Trayterous Libel, highly reflecting on his Majesty, and on both Houses of Parliament*, and order'd a Committee to enquire after the Author, Printer, and Publisher of it, which was done accordingly, but to no purpose; the Printer and Publisher of the *Evening Post* were indeed found, but the Author was never heard of to this Day.

This Letter was a very malicious Attempt upon Mr. W———, and it was suggested in his Name, as if the Government were not able to

carry on the Work begun, or was not in a Capacity to support themselves in the Prosecution of their Impeachments, or durst lead the Offenders to the Scaffold if they were found Guilty.

It was written as in the first Person of Mr. *W——*, and deserv'd very well the Censure it met with; after the same has been since publish'd, I think I cannot offend Mr. *W——*, or any other, in quoting some part of it here, as it is printed in the *Annals of King GEORGE, Vol. 1. Page 460.* as follows.

‘ I AM now to tell your Lordship, the
 ‘ Committee has finish’d their Report,
 ‘ and will lay it before the House in a few
 ‘ Days; what the Result will be I am doubt-
 ‘ ful, but we have nothing for it but a bold
 ‘ push; and accordingly have determin’d to
 ‘ allow no Time to the Enemy to examine,
 ‘ or consider the Report.

‘ The Impeachments will be for High Trea-
 ‘ son, and other Crimes; and I wish we have
 ‘ not in this Resolution strain’d the Matter
 ‘ too far; not that I believe we are in any
 ‘ Danger of not seeing your Lordships confirm
 ‘ whatever Accusation we shall bring before
 ‘ you. The People, who think they have a
 ‘ Right to look into our Actions, know their
 ‘ Strength, know how far they have gone,
 ‘ and that they can secure themselves only by
 ‘ going farther.

‘ If on any drunken Holiday the Govern-
 ‘ ment is over-run with Rioters, and Sediti-
 ‘ ous Assemblies, what Opposition may we
 ‘ not reasonably expect, when we are leading
 ‘ the Favourites of the Faction to the Scaffold.

‘ If we fail in the Attempt, we must be
 ‘ content to bear the Yoke we have been pre-
 ‘ paring for our Enemies; if we should suc-
 ‘ ceed, we shall never more be troubled with
 ‘ that Spirit that has been so long grievous to us.

‘ The Guards are sent for to be in a readi-
 ‘ ness, but I am very doubtful how far they
 ‘ will come into what is necessary, should
 ‘ there be Occasion for them, and must there-
 ‘ fore go along with those who hold a necessity
 ‘ of raising Assistance from foreign Troops.

‘ My Lord, I shall say no more; *Facta est*
 ‘ *alea*; and Fortune in a few Weeks will dis-
 ‘ pose of us one way or other.

To the Lord S———d
 at the Bath.

I am,
 R. W.

Mr. W——— having procur'd a just Cen-
 sure of this scandalous Letter, it dropt again,
 nor had it any Effect upon him, so as to slacken
 his Pace in the pursuit of what was then before
 him; but he went on with the Business of the
Secret Committee with the utmost Diligence.

In the Interval of these Things the late Re-
 bellion, preceded by Riots, Tumults, demo-
 lishing Meeting-Houses, and insulting the
 Go-

Government, and its most faithful Friends, broke out in the North.

Mr. *W*—— being in no Military Employment, had no share in the fighting Part, but his Vigour in the Councils of the Government, as well in Parliament as out; his readiness to forward every Supply, to answer every Occasion, and to concur with all the just Measures of the Government, and to bring others to do so too, were such, and rendered him so useful to the Ministry, that his Services on those Occasions must certainly leave a strong Impression upon every Mind, where Gratitude, and sense of Merit takes Place.

His Services being thus considerable, I say, could not but operate upon the Gratitude of those to whom it was of such real value; and it was no wonder to find, that his Majesty being oblig'd on the Death of the late Lord *Halifax*, to grant a new Commission, for managing, or executing the Office of Treasurer of the *Exchequer*, could no longer be satisfied to want the Service of so capable, so faithful, and so diligent a Subject, at the Head of that Commission.

Accordingly we soon saw Mr. *W*—— first Commissioner of the Treasury, *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, and *Under Treasurer*, as is usual to the said Posts, as first Commissioner; not that this Office, or the new Acquisition by it, divested him of his other Parliamentary Post, of *Chairman of the Committee of Secresie*, any

more than it lessen'd, slacken'd, or *weaken'd* his Hands, in his usual Application to the Work which was before him therein.

His diligent Application, *while in this Office*, to all other Things which concern'd his Majesty's Interest, may perhaps have contributed to load him with the Enmity and Aversion of the King's Enemies, but it cannot be conceiv'd, without some Wonder, how this should serve to bring him into any Disrespect, or Misunderstanding with those who call themselves the King's Friends; unless it be with them, as it was said of some (in the Times of a certain great Monarch's Reign, in this Kingdom, who were strictly engag'd with that great Prince) that tho' they lov'd to serve him themselves, they hated any Man else should merit from him; from whose unjust Politicks the old Earl of ——— was used to say, that when any Man had serv'd the King in any extraordinary manner, he seldom fail'd of being first employ'd, and soon disgrac'd: And yet this was not laid to the King's Charge, as any ways tending to an Ignorance, or Neglect of *Merit*; but to the Envy of some great Men who made it their Business to fall upon any Man who seem'd by his extraordinary Merit to be rising in the Prince's Favour.

If this be not the Case in the great Person before us, it must be confess'd, that most of the World are at present at a great loss to know

know the true Reason of the Treatment which Mr. W—— has, for some Time past, met with from some of his late Friends; what his Majesty's Reasons have been for letting so able a Minister drop out of the Administration, that is no part of the Work now before me; I am of the Opinion, and ever have been, that we have nothing to do to enquire into the Reasons why the Prince thinks fit to change, or remove his Household Servants; but as to the Treatment this Gentleman receives from particular Persons, not the Sovereign, this we hope may be the Subject of our Speculation without Offence; for some have suggested, that as there is not the least Suggestion of any Trespass, or Offence; any Omission of Duty, or Neglect of Respect to his Sovereign, it must then be rational to suppose, that some People jealous of his dangerous Merit, have done him ill Offices, misrepresented his Actions, or at least his Intentions, and by that Injustice, endeavour'd, perhaps, to prevent his doing Justice to them. Nor is it necessary to the Point in Hand, that these Persons should be singled out by Name; they are very few, who are so Ignorant at this Time, of who is in, and who is out, as not to be able to make some rational Conjectures at the Persons, or at least at the Party.

But to return to Mr. W——, now at the Head of the Treasury, he entred this Post with no small Difficulties before him, viz. a rising
Faction

Faction in the Nation, Divisions even in the Court, if we may call them so, while in their Embryo, a Rebellion at Hand, and which soon after broke out, with many other perplexing Affairs.

To any one that knows the State of the Revenue in *Britain*, and the Work that lyes on the Hands of the first Commissioner of the Treasury, in a Time circumstanced as this was, it will not seem strange, that I say, he had great Exigencies upon him to struggle with; Taxes must necessarily rise heavily here, while the past Burthen lyes so weighty upon the whole Kingdom; and it was not the least of a Treasurer's Skill to prevent the publick Credit sinking at such a Time as that; yet he work'd through it all, not only with an indefatigable Industry, but with an unexpected Success; and we not only find, the Debt not encreas'd by that Year's Service, but in a fair way to be lessen'd under the weight of the present Year, *at least it would have been so*, had he been suffer'd to continue in the Management.

As his Judgment extended to all the nicest Notions of Improvement in Things relating to Foreign Treaties, whether of *Commerce*, or of *Alliance*, we may partly see, that some eminent Strokes in both those bear his Image upon them, particularly as to the Amendments said to be made in the late Treaty with *Spain*, obtaining such Advantages there to our Merchants,

chants, as they had struggled for in vain by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

During the Time of the Rebellion, his Application to the publick Business was such, as admits no Objection; every one knows in such an Emergency, what Weights lye upon the Shoulders of the Treasury; how critical the Circumstances of that kind of Business are; what depends upon it, how the Sinews of Action are in his Hands, and how every Thing is blasted by the least Mismanagement; every one that is capable of making any Judgment of these Things, knows, not the greatest Fidelity only, but the greatest Capacity, the most exquisite Thoughts, for contriving, and executing every little Contract, every Appointment, managing every Remittance, answering every Demand, and understanding the Substance of every Proposal, are necessary to the Office of the Treasurer. In the Discharge of this difficult Employment, of which he was always look'd upon as the principal Manager, *as well as first Commissioner*, he appeared always fully prepar'd, always ready, and never fail'd to be in a Condition for the furnishing Money for every Exigence, for the seasonable Application of the necessary Sums, for the keeping the Treasury in a Condition to answer every Demand, and to answer it in its proper Time: Where are the Complaints against him? What Body of Troops have wanted their Pay, or wanted it in the Time
of

of their remotest Situation, and when the remitting, or conveying it, has been the most difficult Thing imaginable? Where are the Complaints that any have made of Mis-applications, of appropriated Money, or of vast Sums for secret Service? Where are the Complaints of great Engrossments of Money in the Treasury; and the Troops, or Ships, or Household, not paid? We find Things under his Conduct, all running on in the antient Channel; and the Usage of the *Exchequer* restor'd, the Business there meeting now with no Interruptions.

But this is not all, for these Things, *it may be said*, are a Road of Business, and require nothing but the ordinary Application of a Financer, or Lord Treasurer, *tho' that is not altogether true neither*, for we have had different Conduct, even in the Treasury it self, and loud Complaints have been made, as well during their Execution of the Office, as afterwards, of which nothing can be pretended in the Case of Mr. W——.

But we have reason to say, *that this is not all*, for during the Rebellion, his Councils out of the Treasury, as well as his Management in the Treasury, have been useful to the Government; his Resolution has fix'd the Courage of others, who had been wavering, or declining, thro' Fear, rather than ill Will, in Defence of the Publick.

His Zeal for the Person of the King, as well as for the Interest of the whole Royal Family, has

has been such, as our Description can give but faint Ideas of; and such has been the Opinion, the generality of the People, *Friends or Enemies*, have all along had of his steady Attachment to the Interest of the House of *Hanover*, that nothing of that kind could be more astonishing to the People in the Country, than the first Accounts of his Disgrace at Court, in-
 somuch, that the first Rumours of it were not regarded for a great while, but were look'd upon by indifferent People as no more than Rumours which were gotten by accident, *as is usual*, into the Mouths of idle People, who busily make an Article of News out of every Suggestion, *however groundless or improbable*. After some Time, when these Rumours grew cool, and they found it was not done, they triumph'd in the Justice of their own Conjectures. 'Mr. W—— out! said they, there's
 ' nothing in it; the Rumour is nothing but a
 ' Jacobite Amusement, spread Abroad to en-
 ' courage another malicious Story (*viz.*) Of
 ' Differences at Court, where, to their Confusion,
 ' the contrary *is true to an Extreme*, and all
 ' Things are carried on with a perfect Har-
 ' mony of Persons and Interests. Mr. W——
 ' out! NO, NO, his Majesty knows the va-
 ' lue of honest Men too well to part with a
 ' Servant so useful, and so advantageous to
 ' his present Service. Mr. W—— out! it
 ' is impossible, he is so riveted in the favour
 ' of the whole Administration; so useful, so

‘ necessary a Man, that the rest of the Mini-
 ‘ stry would certainly intercede that he might
 ‘ not *be laid by*, who was so capable to assist
 ‘ them, and whose Dismiss would be an irre-
 ‘ parable Loss to the Interest of the King’s
 ‘ Friends.’ Thus Men argued, thus they per-
 swaded themselves to believe, and, as *I said*,
 they were confirm’d in this Opinion for some
 Time by the Reports falling off: But when
 a second Shock was to be stood, and it was
 spoken of again with more Assurance than
 before; nay, when previous to it, some other
 Person near Mr. W——— was dismiss’d with
 some Displeasure, then the good, well mean-
 ing People, aforesaid, discover’d more con-
 cern, and look’d not a little surpriz’d; ‘ *What*
 ‘ *turn out Mr. W———!* *Is it possible?* What
 ‘ can the meaning of this be! can it be possible
 ‘ *that he has mis-behav’d!* No, that could not
 ‘ enter into their Thoughts; can it be possible
 ‘ that the Sovereign can part with so great a
 ‘ Man? No, that can no more enter into
 ‘ their Thoughts than the other: What then
 ‘ can be the Case?’ Many went away with
 melancholy, and sad Reflections, that, as
 when new Phænomena’s appear in the higher
 Regions, which no Account can be given of,
at least by their Understandings, People think of
 nothing but Wars, Famine, Pestilence, and
 publick Calamities; so these not being able to
 comprehend the Mystery, and perfectly sur-
 prized with the Thing it self, go shaking their
 Heads,

Heads, and suggesting sad Events from such inconsistent, dangerous Things, as the falling out of Friends among themselves, when so many, so powerful, so restless Enemies Abroad and at Home, threaten us.

But such People, *however well meaning in themselves*, may perhaps have been ignorant of the Maxims of *Court Politicks*, which are practis'd now a-days, and that there are some Men in the World, who, altho' they may be of one and the same Party in their political Views, yet have secret Reserves in their Designs, for the carrying on their own private Interests and Advantages; for which they will, *and too often do*, sacrifice all their Principles, as to the publick Interest, and even their Party too: That such Men, altho' they may appear warm, and zealously affected to their Sovereign's Interest, and are indeed so, when placed in Opposition to the opposing Interest; *that is to say*, when the Question is only between King GEORGE and the Pretender, then they are as hearty as can be desir'd, and leave no room to doubt of their Loyalty; BUT when this is over, these very Men have their own Interests to serve, their own Advantages to make, their own Friends to advance, their own Grandeur to promote, and this they can communicate with no Body, NO, *not* with their nearest Intimates, who set up for themselves; and a Breach between them in these Things, will run them up to

such Extremities, that they will even give up their Zeal, their Loyalty, their Party, nay, sometimes their Principles, rather than not support the Schemes they project.

I say, the good People *mention'd before*, are ignorant of these Things; *First*, They cannot reconcile them to Honesty; and, *Secondly*, Having a vast Opinion of the People who they find acting thus, they cannot bear to think that it can proceed from such abominable, selfish Principles, which they had much rather believe are confin'd to another Party, and which they have often charg'd upon that Party, as peculiar to their Principles; wherefore finding these new Measures of the Men now spoken of, proceed from among their Friends, they are quite confounded.

Whereas, *the Truth is*, that they are only unhappily deceiv'd, and want only to make Enquiry more closely, and narrowly, into Matters of Fact, which, if they did, they would find that *Court Politicks* are the same, however the Management may fall into different Hands; and that King *GEORGE's* Servants are but Flesh and Blood any more than King *James* the Second's, or King *Charles* the Second's Servants were, and the same Flesh and Blood, perhaps, as all the Kings Servants that ever reign'd, have been; and that when they come to manage their own Interests, they act with the same Passion for their Profit, their Grandeur, their Faction, as other Men do,

do, or have done, and perhaps ever will do, in every Reign.

From this Self-interested Spirit among great Men, proceed most, if not all of the Breaches that happen among the Politicians at Court, which makes them divide, quarrel, serve their Masters, and the Publick, with a View only to serve themselves, nay, and sometimes serve their Masters very ill too, if not dis-serve them; *and*, as it generally happens, that one of these contending Parties get the better of the other, in the Favour of their Sovereign, they seldom fail to improve that Advantage to the Prejudice of their Opposer, and even, sometimes to mis-representing, not their Actions only, but their Principles and Designs, and to the loading them with Scandal and Slander.

From hence it proceeds to removing one another out of Places, that Creatures of the other *Faction* (for such Divisions merit well the Name of *Faction*) may be put in, that the Opinion, and Favour of the Prince may be preserved entire to themselves.

And yet, even when this is done, the Case is not always secur'd, for the Persons so put in, being likewise but Men, as the others were, and Men too, who have about them the same Vices of Pride and Ambition, when they have the Temptation of an Opportunity, often insinuate themselves into that Favour, which they were brought into Place to preserve for another,

another, and often supplant the very Persons who brought them in; as there were frequent Instances of in the last Reign.

In the mean Time the publick Business never fails to suffer under such wretched Breaches, the Sovereigns are ill serv'd, Parties that have been thrown out, break in upon them again, and the Prince is often oblig'd to change Hands, when he comes to be convinc'd at what Expence he has espous'd this, or that worthless Favourite, who has not been able to support himself upon the Fund of his proper Merit, but, perhaps, has built his Advancement only upon the Favour, and at the Expence of his Royal Master: Nor do wise Princes ever fail to shake off such expensive Favourites, and their whole Dependencies, and shift Hands as often as they find their Affairs injur'd, or their People oppress'd by them; *as may be seen*, if we take pains to look back into the Reign of King *William*, and indeed into the Reigns of all the best, and wisest of the Kings of *England*, ever since the Conquest.

Would the People therefore, who I am speaking of, reflect on these Things, they would cease to wonder at the present Divisions among Courtiers, and even at the removing so useful a Minister as Mr. *Walpole* from the eminent Post he possess'd, who, *if Fame lyes not*, does but give Place to a powerful Party, I had almost said a powerful Faction, who can scarce have the Assurance to promise their So-

vereign they will do his Business better, and of whom many suggest they will scarce be able to do it so well.

But *be that as it will*, seeing they are now upon their Behaviour, we must wait till they give the Nation a Specimen of their Capacities, and till Time assists Mankind to make a Judgment of their Merit by their Performances; and no doubt the World will be apt to keep a narrow Eye upon them, to see if those who have thus taken the Business of the Nation upon themselves, either discharge their Trust with the same Fidelity, or in the end, give their Master the same Satisfaction as those did who went before them.

But to return to Mr. *W*——, his Business being at the Head of Management in the Treasury, there lay a new Burthen upon him, which the Office was never engag'd in before, the Business of the Treasurers has for some Time past been too much taken up with the Study of Ways and Means, (*viz.*) finding out Funds to raise Money for the Service of the Year, and to support the Exigencies of the Government; *that is*, in brief, their Employment has been principally to study how they might run the Nation every Year farther in Debt, till the Taxes they laid, and the Funds they entail'd upon them, left us under the insupportable Burthen of 50 Millions Sterling in Debt; and not only so, but as every Years Service call'd for new Funds to supply

ply new Occasions, there seem'd to be nothing before us, but a certain, and unavoidable Necessity of running the Kingdom of *Great Britain*, into an unfathomable Gulph of Debt, encreasing every Year, till it must, at length, be ruinous and destructive.

This was a *Herculean* Labour, worthy of a Genius superiour to all the Persons in that Office that had gone before him, and this was the Thing Mr. *W*—— applied his Thoughts to with such a steady Resolution, that it was apparent he saw his Way through it the first Time he look'd into it; nor did the Difficulty at all surprize him, much less discourage him: The Debt was immense, as has been said, being no less than 50 Millions of Money, the Interest was an *unsupportable Burthen*, having been laid in a Time, when the great want of Money, and the other Circumstances of those Times, made the Rate of Usury extravagantly high and oppressing; and was the more so now, because the common, lawful Rate for the Interest of Money, was reduced to 5 ℥ Cent. whereas the Interest of those Debts, were, *most of them*, at 7 or 8 ℥ Cent. and for others from 6 to 7 ℥ Cent. so that it was calculated by some to be 7 ℥ Cent, or thereabouts, one with another.

This Difference of the Interest of Money, presented Mr. *W*—— with a *real Fund* for abating the principal Debt, seeing it appeared highly reasonable, that as the Law had reduced

ced the Value of all the Money'd Men's Estates in the Kingdom to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. only, the Proprietors of those Debts should be likewise reduced to an equality with others. Mr. W—— was not ignorant what a Storm it would bring upon the Heads of the Managers of such an Undertaking; what Clamours the People would make, and how loudly they would exclaim against him in particular, for what they would be sure to call a Breach of the publick Faith, and a destroying of Parliamentary Credit; but as he was sure his Aim was taken right, and was only for the good of the whole Body, it was with Courage that he went thro' all the Difficulties which stood in his Way; and having prepared his Measures for the Introduction of it into Parliament, he first suffered the Publick to be appriz'd of the Design, and let them gradually spend the first Fury of their Artillery against it.

However, as the Cause was popular, it found Advocates, as well as Opposers; as the Money'd Men, and Stock-jobbers, chiefly in the City of London, were against it, so the Landed Men, and Gentlemen throughout the whole Island generally embrac'd it, as a healing, advantagious Proposal; and many Arguments were used on both Sides; some gave Mr. W—— their good Wishes, and some just the contrary; and, in a Word, the Pamphlet Writers of the Age took the Work into
their

their Hands, and fell to arguing for and against it in print, as their several Opinions led them: Among these, one was said to be written by *Paterfon*, commonly called *the Protector*, a Person eminent in such Matters, and who it was, they now said, had examin'd, and calculated these Things by the express Order of *Mr. W——*, or at least by his Approbation and Encouragement: This was a large Book, and contain'd the Particulars of the publick Debts, with the Calculations of the Years in which they would be reduced, according to the several propos'd Methods, by reducing the Interests, and for paying the Principals out of the Savings, from the reduced Interests; by which he made it appear, that in about 22 Years, the Nation might be effectually clear of Debt, and consequently the heavy Taxes, which are indeed an insupportable Burthen to the poor, and a heavy Clog upon Trade in general, would be entirely removed.

This Book was call'd, *A Dialogue among the Members of a Club in Friday-Street, &c.* and met with a general Approbation among those who applied themselves to enter into such Calculations and Enquiries.

There was another Book which followed this, and pretended to confute it, call'd, *The Wednesday Club-law; or, the Injustice, Dishonour, and ill Policy of breaking into Parliamentary Securities.* This was on the other Side

to an extreme, as may be gueſt by the Title; and its Author was ſaid to be one Mr. *Broome*. After this, the former Book, or at leaſt the Argument, was ſupported by another, entitled, *Fair Payment no Spunge*. This was alſo ſaid to be written by the Order of the firſt Contrivers: Some ſaid it was written by the aforeſaid *Paterſon*; others, who pretended to ſpeak from better Information, ſaid it was done by *Daniel de Foe*; let it be written by who it will, it had ſome Things of weight in it, for ſupporting by Argument the firſt Propoſal in the Book of Mr. *Paterſon's*, and therefore ſeems to be written in concert with the *Authors*, or *Directors* of the Thing it ſelf. This I mention, becauſe of the following Argument brought by that Author to answer the Complaints of Injuſtice in reducing the Interests of the Funds, and which ſeem'd to put an end to that Debate; and, which being of Moment to the Queſtion, *take as follows*.

‘ Had the Circumſtances of this Nation,
 ‘ upon what Account ſoever, oblig’d the Par-
 ‘ liament to have rais’d the Interelt of Money
 ‘ to 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. as it was in former Times, I
 ‘ deſire to know what theſe Gentlemen, who
 ‘ had lent their Money on Parliament Securi-
 ‘ ties, and Funds, would have ſaid, if they
 ‘ had been the only Perſons who ſhould have
 ‘ been left to make 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. leſs of their Mo-
 ‘ ney than other People? How loudly would
 ‘ they

' they have complain'd of the Ingratitude of
 ' the Government, who took their Money at
 ' the common Interest of the Day, when they
 ' wanted the Loan; and when it was a Service
 ' to the Nation to lend it, and should now
 ' take no Care that they should be upon an e-
 ' qual foot of Interest with other People?
 ' But should take the Advantage of the Let-
 ' ter of their Contract, and tye them down
 ' to receive but 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. for their Estates,
 ' when all other People, even those that had
 ' done them no Service, were at liberty to
 ' make so much greater an Advantage.
 ' Then how full of Reasonings would they
 ' have been upon the Equity of the Case?
 ' That tho', it was true, they did lend their
 ' Money at 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. with some little Ad-
 ' vantage for Encouragement, it was because
 ' the current Interest of Money was then no
 ' higher, and every Man that lent Money ex-
 ' pected no more in cases of other Loans;
 ' that the Value of Money was so rated at
 ' that Time by Law; and they then stood
 ' upon a level in the Rate of their Estates with
 ' other Men. But that they could not be
 ' supposed to lend their Money to the Go-
 ' vernment, which was an Act of Service to
 ' their Country, and be forgotten, when a
 ' general Alteration of the Face of Things
 ' should happen, which might be to their Ad-
 ' vantage. That it would be very unjust,
 ' that

' that others should be allowed to make a
 ' ~~3~~ Cent. of their Money, and that they on-
 ' ly should be the Men who should suffer, and
 ' sit still, and see their Estates made worse than
 ' other Mens, only because they had lent them
 ' to the Government, and had run the Hazard
 ' of them for the publick Service. That all
 ' such Loans were made by the Rule of the
 ' Laws, and that the Interest of their Mo-
 ' ney was stated by the Rate of Money at
 ' that Time: But not to be tyed down, so as
 ' that the Rate of their Money should not rise
 ' when the Value of other Mens Money should
 ' rise, or that they should not be kept on a
 ' level with the rest of the Nation, as they
 ' were when they lent their Money.

' If these Reasonings had not been admit-
 ' ted, they would have gone on with them
 ' *thus*: That if their demand of a higher Inte-
 ' rest, in proportion to what new Loans were
 ' made at, was not admitted, they desir'd
 ' they might have their Principal Money
 ' paid them back again; that at least they
 ' might be at liberty to make the best of their
 ' Estates in common with other People; that
 ' this was but common Justice; and that to
 ' deny them this, would look like taking Ad-
 ' vantage of them, as if the Government had
 ' catch'd them, and would hold them: A
 ' Thing below the Honour of the Publick, and
 ' which would make Men cautious for the fu-
 ' ture

' sure how they dealt with them at all: That
 ' in effect it would destroy the publick Credit,
 ' make the Ministry be look'd upon like Shar-
 ' pers, that would draw the Subjects in to
 ' make a Prey of them, and not give them the
 ' due Construction of their Circumstances, ac-
 ' cording to the Nature of Things. That to
 ' borrow their Money at a low Interest, and
 ' then raise the lawful Interest of Money in
 ' general, was a *Bite* upon the Lenders; and
 ' the Government might now take the same
 ' Money, and lend it back again, even to
 ' some of the same Persons, or, if not *the*
 ' *same*, to others, and so get 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Cent. by
 ' them, which would be the most scandalous
 ' Way of tricking Mankind that ever was
 ' heard of. That certainly they had a Right
 ' to insist upon being allow'd the common,
 ' lawful Interest of Money, and be put upon
 ' an Equality with their Neighbours, or to
 ' have their Money paid them back again,
 ' that they might make the best of it, as
 ' other Men did of theirs: That if the Inte-
 ' rest had fallen, as well as it was risen, there
 ' was no doubt, but the Government would
 ' have thought it very just to have oblig'd
 ' them to fall with it; or if they had refused,
 ' would have order'd them to be paid off,
 ' that Money at a lower Interest might have
 ' been borrow'd in the room of it; and, that
 ' therefore they could not but insist upon it,
 ' that

‘ that they should be either put upon a level
 ‘ with the rest of the People in having their
 ‘ Interest rais’d, or be paid back their Money,
 ‘ and sent about their Business.

‘ It cannot be call’d begging the Question,
 ‘ to state the Reverse of the Case in this
 ‘ manner, seeing the Thing is so natural,
 ‘ that the force of Argument is scarce to
 ‘ be resisted; in the mean time, let it stand as
 ‘ ’tis, (*viz.*) An Appeal to all the World for
 ‘ the Justice and Reasonableness of the Sug-
 ‘ gestion, and there is scarce a Man in *Exchange-*
 ‘ *Alley*, who, if he would impartially turn
 ‘ the Tables, would not allow that these
 ‘ would be the Arguments to be used in that
 ‘ Case: Why then, the same way of Reason-
 ‘ ing shall not be good in the present Matter,
 ‘ I can see no Reason to determine; let every
 ‘ Man judge as his own Thoughts shall guide
 ‘ him, but let them be impartial, and speak
 ‘ of it as if they were not concern’d in the Par-
 ‘ ticulars, for there is always a great diffe-
 ‘ rence between our freedom of arguing when
 ‘ the Case is our own, and when it is per-
 ‘ fectly indifferent, and we are not concern’d
 ‘ one way or other.

These Things having thus appriz’d the
 People of the Design it self, we may reason-
 ably believe Mr. W—— had by that Time
 laid all his Schemes for the Performance,
 which the Parliament being then approach-
 ing,

ing, he had resolv'd to lay before them.

At the opening the Session, his Majesty, who could not but approve a Design so well calculated for the general Advantage of his People, recommended it for the Consideration of the House of Commons with great Earnestness, as a Thing of great Concern, and as it were absolutely necessary to be done. The House also willingly came into the Thing, at the first Motion from the Throne, as appear'd by the return they made to the King's Speech, in their Address, wherein they express their Sense of the Necessity, and their Resolution to answer his Majesty's Expectations, and those of the People also, as follows.

We are all but too sensible of the unsupportable Weight of the National Debts, and therefore will not neglect to apply our selves with all possible Diligence and Attention to the great and necessary Work of reducing, and lessening, by Degrees, this heavy Burthen, which may prove the most effectual Means of preserving to the publick Funds a real and certain Security.

This Resolution shew'd, indeed, the willingness of the House to come into the Proposal of lessening the Debts; but we cannot say that their Knowledge of the Means was equal to their Zeal for the End, and therefore we found, that when the House came to enter upon a close Debate of the Thing itself, they came to no Resolution, many arguing for,

for, and many against the Thing in general, and few or none descending to the Particulars; but 14 Days Time being demanded, was very readily granted to Mr. W—— to bring in a Scheme for performing the Reduction.

Many in this Interval furnish'd themselves with Arguments for and against it, of which I shall say no more than this, that when Mr. W—— brought in his Scheme, it appear'd so perfect, so full, so effectual, to the great Purpose design'd; so well adapted to every Circumstance, and so capable of answering the great End of clearing the Nation from an insupportable Debt, and setting the poor People free from the weight of unsufferable Taxes, that the Opposition intended, sunk into a surprizing Approbation, and every Article of his Proposal was voted with very little Hesitation, acknowledging, *as I may say*, that the Design was so perfectly digested, and the Scheme so nicely calculated, that nothing could be objected against it.

It is in this Posture that great Affair now stands; and let it be finish'd, when, how, and by whom it will, the Man that shall have the Honour to perfect it in the House, will scarce want Modesty, so much, as not to acknowledge, that the Honour of the whole Contrivance, and of the Scheme for its Execution, is all due to Mr. Walpole.

CONCLUSION.

For which of all these great Services to his Sovereign, and to his Country, he has been misrepresented as a Person, of whose Services neither of them have any farther Occasion, is a Mystery, 'tis thought, few are able to unfold.

F I N I S.

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